136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbo´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 If a person were feverish, a layman with
● 823] supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina,
262 Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[56]

[56] A Palligawonap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

821 Earthquakes (ye'lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

823 A flood (hu'u'lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti'ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

622 554 J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

622 Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Mu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyuwich moiety,

Rain-Making

789 The Chunut, Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol (the lake tribes) did not have special practitioners for rain-making. J.A. recalls a Pitanisha named Hutu´ [Hopodno ?] who was asked to come up to Pisras to make rain. He had an object "like an egg (se´'el) without any shell on it. When he threw this up in the air, water fell all over from it."

● [823] Rain could be made, or a storm might even be caused, by the use of the charmstones (unok) found in the lake region. Any doctor or plain person who wanted to could use one. They are associated with thunder and are thought to be natural, i.e., not man-made objects.[93] To operate these a little water was sprinkled on them and they were cast out in the direction from which rain was desired: gentle rains came from the west or northwest, hard rains from the southeast. If a violent wind was wanted too, a little earth was put on the charmstone with the water.

In February (1929) J.A. and her godchild were out gathering mushrooms. The girl found an unok, picked it up and asked what it was. After she heard J.A.'s explanation she thoughtlessly threw it away, for which she was chided. As a consequence it rained and stormed for two weeks [which it did].

With the fear that the owner might be careless, J.A. has consistently refused to sell an unok she has in her trunk. When a bad thunderstorm comes up it is always said that someone has been playing with an unok.

Kroeber gives us the following with regard to Tachi rain-making.

> ...but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of this amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.[94]

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[93] Described and illustrated in Gifford and Schenck, 93-97, pls. 33-34. They also were used by the Indians of Lompoc, Santa Barbara, and Ventura as weather-making amulets (Yates, Charmstones, 299-305).

[94] It would seem, from J.A.'s evidence, that these cylindrical stones are not similar to, but are, the charmstones of the California archaeologist. The loss of power, through loss of the amulet, is common to all persons having supernatural power. There was always anxiety over the safety of talismans.

805 821 192 hiam mapa ´nǎi u ´pa´š: full moon (J.B.)
hiam katai ´šu u ´pa´š: old moon (J.B.)
u ´pas tawi ´či: waning moon [lit., dying moon] (M.L.); hiam tawi ´ta´l: now dying, said of waning moon (M.P.)
kamu ´tu u ´pa´š: dark of moon [lit., lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u ´pas [or opo ´do] kai ´'iyu doi'ye ´di (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am pi' he' u ´šat nanu ´nwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

821 192 Stars, constellations.---

toi ´tas: any star (M.L.); čo ´tač: any star (J.B.)

tawa ´na´t: morning star (M.L.); tawa ´na´l: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nipa ´čna´m hi ´am ti ´ši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyo ´d apo ´d, a ma´d na´m).

ni ´ye'ao: evening star (J.B.)

goi ´yuma: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L., J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]

hoda ´otša´d: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (ho ´dodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

Nature.---

● 823 192 ma´t i ´da´k: a large stream, such as Kaweah River

po ´čuč ida´k: a small stream, such as Lime Kiln Creek

pa ´'asi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake

[210] This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211] Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212] Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

823 po´k:d: a spring of water
192 hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´'o: rain (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
taka´'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
komu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo´ta: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida´ša: wind (M.L.)
wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o´ky:d pa´'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly
[772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 Directions.---These are listed in the order
823 voluntarily given.

da´ṭu: west, plainsward
ho´mot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´p:n: up
a´d:d: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´m:ts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´ṭu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´w:č; to the west, tok:lyu´w:č; to the south, humt:´n:n.

do´mtu i´d:kao: upstream
da´ṭu i´d:kao: downstream

805 Seasons.---Some informants followed the
192 general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The
824 choice of three might be due to the influence of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

755 [522] Coyote man" (i.e., of Coyote lineage) who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (l:m:k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared [237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in 755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He 845 also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain:č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was [776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an 123] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

755 Contagious magic.--While the practice of 789 contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
CP. 1139] Wukchumni

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ·ɨpni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill ● 823 known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš·ɨiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly [531] opposite the old village site, now known as Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

789 825 [301] with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments, such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 301 821 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 [823] A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of [535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kan or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kan

535 The kan was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli´u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli´u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ´ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo´a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

805 Calendar.---Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

192 Nature, stars, directions.---B.W. was interested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]

821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); me´mi´ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi´op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le´a´ye·la (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če´a´tas (stars); tawa´n·s (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´ye·š (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´l·l (rocks, embedded rocks); i´l·k (water).

192 Directions were particularized as follows: ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´n·n homoti
● 823 (to go south); to´x·l (west; toward the plains): tox·l tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); tox·l pa´a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´t·l (directly down, also downhill); tan·n at·l (to go down); at·l tunulao (down hillwards); ţi´p·n (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ţip·n wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´m·t (to run); witi´n·t (to fall down); hasw·´n·t (to fall down dead or to be dead).

192 Life span.---The life span B.W. divided as
561 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi´i´l·t (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); hasw·´n·t (dead person).

764 Burial.---When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40] Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41] Dunnell, 122.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29
[P. 162 a] Kechayi

621 192 723 **Star lore**.---Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pːš: sun
toiyu´ nem u´pːš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nːš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls). E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]
soiyo´lui yawačːt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.
wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."
wːčːn čano´´onːt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 **Calendar**.---The year was divided into moon months (yːt u´pːš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčːn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lːpi, six).

● 823 **Earthquake**.---E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 301 **Snake-charm**.---In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 382 822 192 **Paint**.---The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´m·n) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´k·n) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-● [823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 [603] When the baby was born its paternal grandfather brought the first cradle (bi´·č), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ah·´l·č), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the [856 789] child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 553 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 846 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line. [611]

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
● [823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

756 Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
[562] members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a
764 shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die. Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.---It was thought that a
551 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a
422 hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

[259] [851] house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a [823] fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which [262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The [562] first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

[P. 2296] Western Mono NS25

W Y 821 782

An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai ´yu ´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

W Y 805 221

The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November.. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

W Y 805 821 192 552

B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

Times, stars, nature:
- tapewa´no: daytime
- ha´nos: before sunrise
- motve´sihop: sunrise
- tukita´wena: noon
- motara´tahikup: sunset
- ure´´unus: after sundown
- totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
- tara´ue: sun
- ta´ow": moon
- nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
- tapu´ha: morning star
- so´šso´š: Pleiades
- te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
- na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
- tuo´pade: sky
- to·´uare: clouds
- u·´´uare: rain
- paho´nop: hail
- nu´babi: snow
- pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
- pasi´wap: sand
- patigui´noba: mud
- t:p: granite
- pahe´: soapstone

Y W 823 192

Directions:
- pite´kimat: south
- quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

W Y 823 192

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r*: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W Y 805 192

Seasons:
ta´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y [184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W Y 773 821

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W Y 825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Puli:li:n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W Y 773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

W Y 622

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

W Y 787 755 S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "M.čk.t (hummingbird)[183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" (keeping it on his mind). When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream (the hummingbirds) saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

W Y 787 823 2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ain.č (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

W Y 755 S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

W Y 787 533 3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 778 787 Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

[823] The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

[539]

Whose is this fish to shoot?
Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wacham* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never left the earth. This is his song:

[539]

The other says: Run in the brush;
Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[45]
101
103
131
619
361

Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush.

[252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*.

778
823

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auburn roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud*. Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido*, meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow*. Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin*, meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha*. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw*, Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu*, meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow*. *Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lemon Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E, MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds, ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks, or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding stopped.

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as possible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dislodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceanothus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and hastened the collapse of the injured animal.

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound.

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not waterproofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, together with the stone point. For this reason the stone points on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain in the wound when the foreshaft was removed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this
237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews
[823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These
824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of buttonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated
[258] soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and
[224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears
[823] might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak*, I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name.

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake.

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things.

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko*, (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt*, the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world.

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool*. It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer.

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race.

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day.

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono.

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment.

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.)

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

Of the two other directions, up (ti´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ti´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ti´pni.

On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated: "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.
[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

> She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called meta afitawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."
>
> If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he
539 motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third
192 phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.
[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tō*w*ayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tūwahlut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	hamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamashlut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhakhait

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to
192 take of it.
539
● 823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pūna
we	here	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.
192
539

heweitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave	me	with-a-little	sun
anè	nan	yòt·au	teomeot'k (or teom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heweit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	